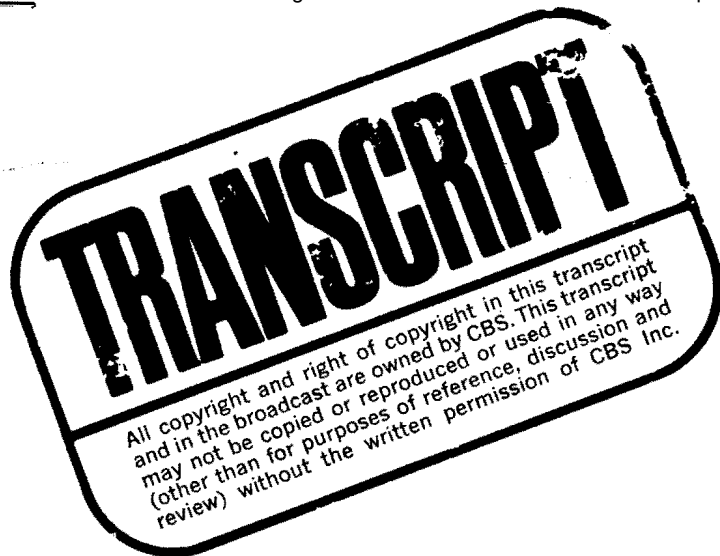


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Governor of California

REPORTERS:

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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1976

GUEST:

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY (D. Minn.)

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent

Sam Donaldson - ABC News Correspondent.

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This is a rush transcript for
the press. Any questions re-
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MR. CLARK: Senator, welcome back to ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

You apparently haven't convinced Jimmy Carter yet that you are really out of the presidential race. He implied this week that Jerry Brown is a stalking horse for you in the Maryland primary and said it is obvious you would still like to be President. Is he right on either count?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, there are several counts there. First, may I welcome you to Minnesota. You are out in a very beautiful state and it is a beautiful day.

Now, in reference to your question: Mr. Brown, Governor Brown, is a stalking horse for no one. This is a very active young man that is the chief executive of the largest state; he has tremendous resources in his state; he has great problems. He has been doing a good job as governor of that state. He has a national career ahead of him and he is a real candidate for President.

As you know, I am a very close friend of his parents. I have known Governor Brown, Jerry Brown, as we call him, personally for some time. He came to Washington. He called me, wanted to see me, asked me to come over and have a cup of coffee with him. I did so. I am glad you all took my picture.

No, he is no stalking horse.

Now, as to my own role, it is very much the same as it has been. I said I would not enter primaries and I kept my word. I have also said that if my party should, in convention,

want me, or need me, or ask me to be the nominee, that I would readily accept; I would seize that nomination and I would go out and do my level best to win and I believe I could win for the Democratic party, so I am not out any more than I ever was and I am not in more than I was. What I am, if the people need me, if the people want me, if the party delegates want me, Hubert Humphrey will be there.

MR. CLARK: You appear to give the impression you do not agree with those who think Mr. Carter has the nomination locked up.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, Bob, I don't think he has it locked up, but in all candor, of course, he has great momentum and he is leading and you know that makes you happy. You can't help feel good about that if you are in his position but, as I recollect, there are still 16 or 17 primaries yet to go; there are a number of state conventions where delegates have to be selected as a result of caucuses. There are well over a thousand delegates yet to be chosen and besides that you have Frank Church, Senator Church, who is actively campaigning down in Nebraska and is doing a good job, has a good ^{record} / in agriculture and labor for senior ^{foreign} citizens, / policy, is an articulate spokesman. You have Mo Udall who has been hanging in there. You have to admire Congressman Udall for his tenacity. He is up there working his heart out in Michigan. Has a fine labor record, you

know, and has a splendid record in the field of conservation and resource development and human rights, and then you have Scoop Jackson.

By the way, I see that Henry Jackson is back up in Connecticut campaigning again. So this thing isn't all over and there are several hundred uncommitted delegates. I know that Mr. Carter and his strategists would like to get a band wagon rolling and I don't blame them a bit. As a matter of fact, if they can work it out that way it shows a good deal of political savvy.

But, let's face it, there are still candidates in the field. Mr. Carter has about 550 or 575 delegates. It takes 1505 to get the nomination.

MR. DONALDSON: Well, Senator, excuse me. That sounds a little bit like whistling in the dark, does it not? Who will stop Jimmy Carter? Will it be Frank Church? Where will he win? Will Mo Udall win in Michigan? Do you really think that is in the cards?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Donaldson, friend Sam, let me say, I don't like this business, "who will stop."

I have heard so much about "who will stop." The real truth is there is still a scramble on for these delegates. When somebody comes in there where they have got 1100, 1200 or 1,000 to 1200 delegates, then you can talk about whether somebody is going to stop them.

But when you are at the levels here where you have only a third of the number of delegates really required to get the nomination, it is really unfair to others to talk about them trying to stop somebody.

Some of these candidates like Mr. Udall and others feel they have a shot at it. The delegates at convention are going to make the choice.

You know, the purpose of the primaries -- let's get that straight: the public hasn't quite understood the purpose of the primaries. The purpose of the primaries is exactly like a congressional election. You elect a representative to make choices for you and decisions for the people at convention. It is the delegates who are going to select the presidential nominee and many of those.

MR. DONALDSON: But Mr. Carter has all these delegates.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Mr. Carter has 500 and some delegates. It takes 1500 and some. But Mr. Jackson and Mr. Udall put together with a few of the uncommitted have as many, may I say, as Mr. Carter.

MR. DONALDSON: Aren't they really dead ducks?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, they are not dead ducks and I think that is unfair to them. Plus the fact --

MR. DONALDSON: I am not trying to be unfair; I am trying to be realistic.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Let me put it this way: You are being statistically accurate, but you are not being realistic in terms of the psychology of politics. If Jerry Brown defeats Mr. Carter in Maryland, even though he doesn't have a delegate, I will bet you that you will see it in every newspaper in the United States and you men in the media will suddenly have discovered an entirely new, brilliant political force in American public life and you know it and I know it. Now, let's level with each other.

Now, if he comes out and does the same thing -- I understand that Jerry Brown may be going up to New Jersey. If he is going up to New Jersey, let's say up there he produces some results. Then, when you go to that convention those delegates are going to be looking at each and every one. That is what it is all about. Most of the delegates that are pledged thus far are for one ballot.

You know that. The primaries do not lock delegates in for the entire convention. One ballot, two ballots. That is all.

MR. CLARK: Senator, if one of these eventualities comes to pass, if Carter^{is}/tripped up somewhere, whether it is by Jerry Brown in Maryland, or it would be a longer shot, but by Mo Udall in Michigan, is there a point at which you might emerge after the primaries, reemerge as an active candidate?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: My position is exactly as has been stated, and I think it was on this same ISSUES AND ANSWERS program that I said the following, that after the primaries were over -- that is after June 8 -- I said then I would assess the situation, I would take a good look at the realities, and if it appeared at that time that no one had really what I consider to be the kind of a commanding lead that within itself brought the necessity of seeing that the nomination was completed on the first ballot or the second ballot, that I would then assess the situation and make my decision as to what I want to do.

I am not sure what that decision would be. I am not interested in going out running for the Presidency unless somebody wants me to do so. I am happy to tell you that when I look at the polls, even after I have been doing less than nothing, I see that we still are able to defeat President Ford, I see that in a head-on, head-on, with Carter-Humphrey, I have a higher percentage amongst Democrats. You know, I am very much alive. Let's put it that way.

MR. CLARK: Well, Senator, thinking ahead again to, perhaps, the week after the primaries are over, the week after the California-New Jersey primaries, if at that point you do not feel Jimmy Carter has the nomination sewed up, could you make an active effort to start rounding up delegates on your ^{own} behalf?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, I could. I wouldn't say that I would at this time, but I surely could. One of the purposes of the assessment might be to do that.

MR. DONALDSON: What figure would you place on the number of delegates Mr. Carter would have at that time that would lead you to believe he didn't have it locked up?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Mr. Donaldson, I don't know what he will have. As I said in the beginning -- let me repeat it.

MR. DONALDSON: I think at one time you said 1160 was the magic number.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Let me once again say much depends upon what is the attitude, what is the psychology at the time, the kind of momentum that he has, and the odds are, as I have said, that Mr. Carter has got a good deal of advantage and maybe will continue to have that advantage. Surely at this point he has that advantage, and he ought to be very proud of it. But when a person comes to that, if a person comes to that convention let's say with

1100 votes or 1200 votes, I really think that person is going to get that nomination, and I surely would have no hand in trying to stop it, believe me I wouldn't. I want my party to win. I want to be a healer in my party, but I do not want someone to feel that just because they are a frontrunner that they own the party. Some of us have worked a long time in this party, and I believe that my other friends that I have mentioned here all have a right to aspire to that nomination, and they are going to have something to say about what happens.

Let me tell you, Mr. Udall and Mr. Jackson are going to have something to say about what happens at that convention. They have got some delegates. And there are some party leaders that are heads of uncommitted delegations that are going to have something to say about what's going to happen there.

MR. CLARK: Senator, we want to talk some more politics later with you in the program, but we want to ^{diverge} briefly. Your still unpublished memoirs which have been coming out, appearing in some newspapers in excerpt form, and some newspapers this past week published a letter from your memoirs, a letter written to President Johnson by you in February of 1965, urging against escalation of the Vietnam war. Did you indeed write such a letter with a strong protest against escalation of the war?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Of course I did. I think the letter, the text is there. That letter was delivered to the President. I must tell you that during my years as Vice President there were times that President Johnson, quite frankly, told me that he didn't care to get too many letters from me such as that. I remember on one occasion he said: Why don't we stop those memos? He said: Just tell me in words what you want.

And I understood what he meant, because they tend to get moved around, and people would say, "Well, the President and Vice President are at odds."

In fact, several times with my memos I delivered he read them, we talked about them, and he handed the memo back to me and said, "Let's not have that laying around here, Hubert, because that sort of thing can get into the hands of some people that might want to cause a little trouble between us."

MR. CLARK: This letter was delivered to him in mid-February, 1965?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That's right.

MR. CLARK: Actually the day before he ordered the massive bombing of North Vietnam, so-called Operation Rolling Thunder?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: That is correct. I think I delivered that letter, let me see, the 15th or something of February,



around that time. Two or three days later, what was called Rolling Thunder started.

MR. CLARK: What sort of a reaction did you get from President Johnson?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think you got the reaction. I think the "Rolling Thunder" possibly describes the reaction.

MR. CLARK: You got "Rolling Thunder" from the President?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I never did, not personally, no. The President was very considerate. Truly he was, of memorandums. Many times he would say, "I disagree with you. You don't have all the facts."

Sometimes he would say to me, "Look, I wish you would of yours tell that staff/to lay off."

But those are relationships that take place between a President and a Vice President.

By the way, the book tells the whole story of what I call the metamorphosis of Hubert Humphrey on Vietnam. In the beginning I was very, very concerned about it, and really felt that we were running grave risk, all kinds of risk, but as the time went on I became, as you know, a supporter. And like others, as time went on further, in 1968 when I ran for President, I said I thought that it had run its course, that it had been a mistake, too costly, let's get out.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)

MR. DONALDSON: Senator, do you think you know where Jimmy Carter stands on the issues?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No.

MR. DONALDSON: Why not?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Why don't you?

MR. DONALDSON: No, I am asking the question.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I know, but really, I am sure that if you knew where he stood on all the issues we would be getting it over the media, both printed and electronic. I think that I know where Jimmy Carter stands in terms of his basic philosophy, but on the issues that relate to our cities, on foreign policy matters, on the Middle East, on the matters of how we achieve full employment, on whether or not he supports economic coordination and economic planning and policy mechanisms of our government, on national health insurance for the American people, I am not sure. But I think that as time goes on we will get a clearer definition.

MR. DONALDSON: Let me ask about one specific thing Governor Carter has pushed from the very beginning, the reorganization of the federal bureaucracy. He says he would cut down the federal bureaucracy, which he estimates to be about 1900 agencies, to 200 agencies. Is that possible?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, it may be possible, but I am not sure that it will be done; and secondly, reorganization

of the federal government is a continuing process. The
? Brown-Lowe Commission, the first Hoover Commission, the
second Hoover commission, and some of us in the Congress
right now have programs in there for another reorganization
of the executive branch of the government. But we also
need reorganization of the Congress, of the jurisdiction of
the committees of the Congress. Reorganization
is something you ought to do all the time. It is something
like brushing your teeth, you know. It is like taking your
exercises. It doesn't mean you are going to do something
tremendous or great, but it is a kind of way to keep the
body politic healthy.

MR. DONALDSON: Do you take him literally? Do you
think it is possible by consolidation or by dropping agen-
cies that the federal bureaucracy can be reduced to 200
line agencies?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I doubt it. And I heard what Jerry
Brown said. Jerry Brown said his father had reorganized the
government. He said Governor Reagan had reorganized the
government, and he said he tried to reorganize the
government and hadn't saved a dollar.

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MR. CLARK: Senator, you have said those who have been talking against big government in the campaign and talking about reorganizing the federal bureaucracy are really against, in your words, the black, the elderly and the needy.

Does that apply to Jimmy Carter and/or to Jerry Brown?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No. Now, let me get it clear.

First of all, I always believe in government efficiency.

I have a citation I cherish from the Hoover Commission for sponsoring legislation to reorganize the government.

I reorganized the city government of Minneapolis when I was Mayor of this city, but those were not my greatest achievements.

I think the greatest achievements or the achievements that count are the achievements of public policy and public program. The Civil Rights Act, the National Defense Education Act, Medicare, the Peace Corps, the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, the Arms Control Agency, the National Rural Development Act, the National Solar Development Act. These are the things that I think represent what Hubert Humphrey is interested in.

Now, in reference to how our government can best operate, it seems to me that the way to get a government to operate well is to put people in charge that believe that government has a purpose and that purpose is to see to it that people get a fair shake, fairness, equal treatment.

Now, when you discriminate against the city and deny

2 c cities the revenues they need, then the HUD Administration doesn't provide money for low-income housing --

MR. CLARK: Well, Senator, who, among the Democratic candidates, are doing this?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: We are not in charge. We are not in charge.

MR. CLARK: You are criticizing President Ford and Ronald Reagan .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I say the Ford Administration and the comments of Mr. Reagan really add up that the elderly will get less, that the blacks will have less, that the poor will have less, the cities will have less where most of these people live and when they do that that is a form of discrimination and I don't like it. I think it is the duty of government not to see that you and I get along better, Bob, but that people who are not as fortunate as you and I.

MR. CLARK: Senator, if I may make the point again, both Jimmy Carter and Jerry Brown are campaigning strongly against big government, excessively large government.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Nobody wants big government.

MR. CLARK: And I am thinking back to some of your answers here today. You seem to look in a somewhat kindlier view on Jerry Brown when he says these things than you do on Jimmy Carter. Am I wrong in that?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, no, I think there is a difference.

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I think that Jerry Brown ran a rather big state called California and he has a tremendous budget. He has a varied economy.

Governor Carter was the Governor of Georgia, a much smaller state. I think both of them did a good job. I am not arguing about your state government.

What I am talking about is simply this, that there are functions for government to perform and, all the campaign rhetoric to the contrary, somebody is going to have to take care of that disabled veteran. Somebody is going to have to take care of the senior citizen. Someone is going to have to help with the environmental protection. Somebody is going to have to do something about national food policy, national energy policy and that's government.

Now, big government is not the issue. The issue is government that works, government that is sensitive, government that is accountable, government that is responsive. It can be big government that is that way or it can be smaller government, but you and I know there isn't going to be much smaller government.

MR. CLARK: Senator, if I can get it a little clearer in my mind, you have noted that Jerry Brown has run the big state of California. Do you think he is better qualified to be President than Jimmy Carter?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I haven't the slightest idea and am not

going to make any value judgment like that.

They will have to demonstrate their on wares.

MR. DONALDSON: Bob's got a point now, Senator. Let's just ask you point blank: There's something about Jimmy Carter that bothers you, something that disturbs you?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No.

MR. DONALDSON: Is he a Humphrey Democrat?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You don't have to be a Humphrey Democrat. Just be a good progressive Democrat. One who sees the instruments of government to be used for the benefit of all of our people. One that sees that government is there to remove the impediments from those that are in trouble, that are there to ease the pain of people who are suffering, to give people a chance, a fair break.

What I want to hear from our candidates is where do they stand on a national food policy? Where do they stand, for example, on a national energy policy. What is our position on a national health policy? What is our position on a national nutrition policy?

Now, these policies aren't all done out of Washington; they relate to the relationship between federal, state and local government in a host of matters that mean so much.

Jobs and health are two of the great issues in this country.

MR. DONALDSON: Let me ask you about something which may not be an issue from the standpoint of government, but there is a lot of undercurrent, a lot of discussion of Governor Carter's religion and the view that some people have that without even meaning to he is capitalizing on it. Do you think that is what

is happening?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: No, I think it is perfectly proper for a man to be very proud of his religion. As a matter of fact, I think one of Governor Carter's great assets is his deep sense of morality, his convictions, his religious convictions, his sense of ethics. I would like to think all of us in public life have a religious, a deep spiritual faith. My religion is to do good. I believe the religion that I have is to help those who are less fortunate. I truly believe that it is better to minister than to be ministered unto. I believe it is better to share and I believe if these things are true in my personal life that they ought to be true in my public life. I believe ^{that} helping one's brother is real religion. That is the religion of love. That is true. It is the religion of sharing and of compassion. But you know, we don't have to debate people's religion and politics, whether you are Catholic, Protestant or Jew. The question is, what is your attitude toward your fellow man, and that attitude toward your fellow man I think is the spiritual concept, based upon the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. I believe in that.

I don't intend to get into a religious discussion as such, but my family, we have been brought up in a fairly religious home. My children have been brought up that way. Decency is religion. Fair play is religion. Love of your neighbor is religion. Doing good for others is your



religion, is my religion, and letting government help people who need help.

I will never forget what Franklin Roosevelt said once. He said "The duty of government is not to see that those who already have too much shall have more, but rather to see that those who may not have -- who have too little may have an opportunity to have enough."

In other words, help people make something out of their lives. Now, government alone can't do this. The government ought not to stand in the way. That is why I believed in federal aid to education. This is why I have worked for Job Corps. This is why I have believed in student fellowships and student scholarships. This is why I sponsored senior citizen housing. This is why I was an original sponsor of Medicare. This is my political religion. I want to see government of the people by the people be for the people. That is what it is all about. And that is what I think a Democrat ought to be all about.

MR. CLARK: Senator, we want to ask you a couple of questions about Democratic chances in November. This last week has been a pretty rough one for President Ford, which raises a serious possibility that Ronald Reagan could be the Republican candidate for President.

Would Mr. Reagan or President Ford be tougher for Democrats to beat in November?

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I really don't know, but I will tell you what: I think we can take either one of them, and that is not going to be an easy task, but I believe it can be done. If I had my choice, and the Republicans don't generally ask me for my choice, but I feel that Mr. Ford has earned the right to defend his record. Plus the fact as a President he has had to make some very difficult and tough decisions.

President Ford is my personal friend. We disagree politically, but I have a personal regard for him. One thing he has done for the country is to bring back decency into government.

I disagree with his vetoes. My goodness, he just vetoed here this military sales and military assistance act. I think that is wrong. He and I are going to go to the mat on that matter; we are not going to let those things go by without a real political confrontation. But the Republicans will have to settle their problems.

MR. CLARK: Senator, I am sorry, we are out of time. Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

* * *

Next week: Governor Edmond Brown, Jr., (D. Calif.)
and
Representative Morris Udall, (D. Ariz.)

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I S S U E S A N D A N S W E R S

SUNDAY, MAY 16, 1976

GUESTS:

REPRESENTATIVE MORRIS UDALL (D. Ariz.)

GOVERNOR EDMUND G. BROWN, Jr. (D. Cal.)

INTERVIEWED BY:

Bob Clark - ISSUES AND ANSWERS Chief Correspondent

Don Farmer - ABC News Correspondent.

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the press. Any questions re-
garding accuracy should be re-
ferred to ISSUES AND ANSWERS

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MR. CLARK: Welcome, both of you, to ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

You are each on this program, I assume, going to be talking a lot about stopping Jimmy Carter.

Do you agree that if Carter --

GOVERNOR BROWN: I think that really isn't the correct premise. We are trying to start America -- we are trying to keep the democratic process open; I am running for the nomination; Mr. Udall is doing the same thing and to set one person up as the person to stop creates the illusion that he has already been nominated and there is some consensus. I think this process is wide open.

MR. UDALL: I have been saying if I am nominated he is stopped and so has Jerry Brown and Hubert Humphrey and everybody else.

MR. CLARK: Gentlemen, to be realistic -- and Governor Brown, I went out and watched your campaign for a day in Maryland this week. I got the impression you were talking only about Jimmy Carter. I heard very little about any other candidate and Congressman Udall, somewhat the same applies to you in Michigan. That is generally taken as a state that is going to be your last stand.

Now, if you are not going to be talking about Jimmy Carter, please feel free to turn the answers in another direction.

MR. UDALL: I have to talk about Jimmy Carter because everywhere he goes he comes roaring in with all this entourage and a million dollars of free publicity and known as the frontrunner and the press saying it is all over and you have to talk about him and, as far as I am concerned, there isn't going to be any stampede to judgment, the convention is going to play its role. We picked 1800 delegates. Do you know many Carter's got a third, which means that two-thirds went ^{to} somebody else or are uncommitted and I have to get out and tell the voters it isn't all over, that Michigan counts, that those voters have a choice too. In that sense you have to talk about Carter and there is plenty to talk about because he has yet to take a stand on half a dozen key tough issues.

You wouldn't put somebody in as president of a dog food company if they wouldn't tell you where they stood on basic matters affecting the company, let alone the President of the United States.

GOVERNOR BROWN: I have been in Maryland now for three weeks and I have tried to get acquainted with the people and let them get acquainted with me and, as the occasion arises, certainly a distinguishing of the issues makes sense but certainly my campaign has been positive. I have tried to present what I have done in California and the Chief

executive in the largest state in the union. We have a \$12 billion budget, 200,000 employees. I try to tell people what I have done, what I would like to do for the country and I think we ought to view this thing as each candidate presenting his case as it is, both good and both weak and both strong.

That is for Udall, Carter and all of the rest of them, and the idea that because you have won some primaries, then puts everyone else in a negative position, as though it were unAmerican to continue the process that is still unfolding and will in the convention in July.

MR. CLARK: Governor, let me phrase your problem this way. On Tuesday in Maryland you will be competing in your first primary, and Governor Carter has been in 12 or 13 or something like that. Aren't you going to have to win in Maryland against Jimmy Carter to establish yourself as a serious, viable candidate?

GOVERNOR BROWN: Obviously I would like to win. I don't have a crystal ball, and I have tried to refrain in the campaign from engaging in the prediction game of what happens this week, and then if it doesn't happen, what happens the following week.

I have been campaigning hard. I started in fifth place and now the other side says that I am leading in Maryland. I hope I do win. Whether I do or not depends upon the people in Maryland.

I think that primary can change the chemistry of this campaign. That is why I have come there. The Secretary of State put me on a ballot. The State of Maryland is like a microcosm of the diversity of this country, and I think the people of that state have within their capacity to change the character and the momentum of the Democratic nomination, just as the people of Texas did in the Republican nomination.

MR. FARMER: Gentlemen, would either of you like to see the other of you President rather than Jimmy Carter?

MR. UDALL: I don't think it is appropriate for me to be sorting out all of the candidates in order of preference or anything else. Jerry Brown is an outstanding Democrat. He has been a friend of mine for a long time. We have been talking a lot of the same issues. On a lot of things I think I come out closer to him than I do to Jimmy Carter. But I don't think it is appropriate in the middle of the process for us to be making those kinds of judgments. You know, I want to add to what Governor Brown said. It is as though you had a football game and Howard Cosell came charging down the field at the third quarter and blew a whistle and said "The ABC computer projects that there is no way the Redskins can win, and the Los Angeles Rams have had it, and you can all go home; the schedule is cancelled."

This thing is wide open. There are a third of the delegates yet to be picked. Carter has 600 delegates, I am in second place now with 220 or so, and we are going in this thing all the way, all the way through the process.

MR. CLARK: Governor Brown, I am thinking back again to your campaigning in Maryland this week. I do not recall you mentioning voluntarily Congressman Udall --

GOVERNOR BROWN: One thing I learned from my father, who was Governor of California, and who I certainly learned a lot from, you never mention your opponent's name if you can possibly avoid it.

MR. CLARK: Let me try Jimmy Carter's quote on this.

You have been taunting Jimmy Carter in Maryland this week on his plan to reorganize the government, saying that you don't really think he has such a plan; that it is a form of consumer fraud, and he is fuzzy on the issues as well. Haven't you made him your principal target?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I have right here a quote from the Washington Post, where, when asked about what his plan to reorganize the federal government, he said, and I quote: "It's impossible to say now." And he said that over and over again.

MR. UDALL: I asked him. He said he was going to abolish 1700 agencies. I have been asking him for a month not to name 1700, not to name 170, but to name 1 percent, to name 17, and he has yet to name one. And the only thing he has said is that he will add a new super agency, a Department of Education, he promised the educators that, --

MR. CLARK: Governor Carter (sic), your critics say you are at least as fuzzy on the issues; that you have no programs at all. Would you, if that is a false charge, would you define three or four of your programs for us?

GOVERNOR BROWN: Well, No. 1, I have proposed in great specificity what I think will be a major political reform for the Congress, and also the Executive Branch. I think that all lobbyists who come to Capitol Hill to represent special interest groups ought to not only be registered, but

be prohibited from giving any gift whatsoever to either a
their
member of Congress, / employee, or a member of the Executive
Branch in any policy-making role.

I don't want to see any more hunting lodges, no more win-
ing and dining, no more gifts.

Secondly, I want every person in Congress and in the
Executive Branch in any policy-making role to have to report any
gift that exceeds \$25.00 in one year's period, except from a
relative. That's what we have in California. That is what
is called the political reform measure, and I think we should
have an independent Federal regulatory body not subject to the
power of Congress. That is the famous political reform that
we have in the state where I come from. I think it is working
well there, and I think it would work very well in California.

If you want to talk about energy, conservation, I will
be glad to talk about those, too.

MR. CLARK: Well, Governor, let me try some other
thoughts. Those are interesting ideas.

Do you have specific programs to deal with what are
regarded as great national problems: education, health care,
housing? Are you any more specific or any less fuzzy on
these issues than Mr. Carter?

MR. BROWN: I will try to be as specific as I can on
'employment. I would sign the Humphrey-Hawkins bill which
sets up a process and a commitment for this government

to make employment, full employment for all the American citizens in this country our first priority. I would sign that.

If you want to talk about energy, out in California we have changed the rate structure so that the more you consume, the more you pay. We have provided a lifeline so that there is a minimum amount of energy guaranteed to each citizen at a minimum rate. I would try to do the same thing nationwide.

If you want to talk about automobiles, I think a President ought to bring to bear whatever incentives he can in cooperation with Congress to get Detroit to make a more efficient and a cleaner automobile so we aren't so dependent on the Arabs and other countries for our oil.

MR. CLARK: I want to give Mr. Udall some time here in a moment, but I did want to mention ^{health care} housing/and education. I didn't hear you mention any of those.

GOVERNOR BROWN: I would try to do in Washington what I have done in California. Out in California we have created a new housing finance agency; we are going to go to the people with a bond issue to see if they want to finance it. I would certainly try to encourage and enhance the federal housing programs that we do have. I support a program of national health insurance. I think it should cover the areas not only traditionally talked about, but preventive health, nutrition, occupational health, and the effects of pollution on health. Items that have not been given the attention that I think they need, and, more than that, I'd like to see the medical profession de-stratified and opened up for nurses so nurses, midwives and nurse practitioners can be given an opportunity to instead of this very rigid profession which leaves to people who have a tremendously expensive education and then they have given tasks that could be performed by others who give less training, but could nevertheless be good in primary care, in internal health and other programs are very important and I would like to shift away from the over-hospitalization, the excessive number of operations and the

unnecessary use of drugs and chemicals. That as a comprehensive policy emanating out of the federal government is obviously the missing ingredient to this whole debate on national health care.

MR. FARMER: Mr. Udall, you have been as specific, perhaps more so than any of the other candidates for about two years now.

If you agree with that, why have you not surged ahead? Is it because people don't want to hear specifics or they don't like what you say or what?

MR. UDALL: Well, it's kind of frustrating, because there's a majority out there for change, make no mistake about that. I am the only candidate left in this race, a major candidate, who is talking about specific bills and programs, to break up oil companies, to break up these giant conglomerates that dominate our lives and fix our prices and export our jobs and try to corrupt the political process.

I think what happened to the Democrats this year is just too many candidates. ^{When} /We have eight and nine up in New Hampshire and Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, no one is going to go home and sit down at a table with 20 issues and eight candidates and compare who stands where and a big smile and personality is about all you need to get 20 percent or 25 percent or 32 percent and win a plurality in an election.



I was hoping for a long time to get down to the narrow base of candidates so this old basketball player could have Jimmy Carter one on one. He has never gotten 51 percent anywhere yet in a major state against major opposition. Then along comes my old friend, Jerry Brown and Frank Church just when I am getting him down to one on one. I think there is a majority out there for change and I believe in public life you can't have it both ways.

You have to take stands and Jimmy Carter won't tell you where he stands on breaking up oil companies. The oil industry thinks he is with them; consumer groups think he is with them. Humphrey-Hawkins, it took him a year to get around to that. He won't tell you today on the key question on health care whether he is with Senator Kennedy and me or whether he is off with the insurance companies.

MR. FARMER: Is Governor Brown specific enough for you?
really

MR. UDALL: I haven't/had a chance to look at Jerry's programs and I will. He's a bit -- nobody could be less specific than Jimmy Carter, I'll tell you that. I like what he has said here.

GOVERNOR BROWN: After Tuesday as we go down the road we will have a few encounters along the way, and people will have a chance to judge our respective positions.

MR. FARMER: You expect to challenge each other in other primaries?

MR. UDALL: He wants the nomination, and I do, too, and this nonsense of Stop Carter, I am going to stop Brown

and he is going to stop Udall and Humphrey and everybody else. I am going to the end of this road. It is 23 days from now --

MR. FARMER: Isn't that just going to help Governor Carter, though, if you two tackle each other?

MR. UDALL: As far as I am concerned, I am going to make my own judgments and decisions. I think we are serving the country and the party by Jerry Brown taking him on in Maryland, and I am taking him on in Michigan. I think we are forcing the country to focus on him and look at him, and not stampede and award somebody the nomination when the process is about two-thirds through, and he has less than half the delegates --

GOVERNOR BROWN: When you think it is good, when you think of what is happening now in the Republican Party, you have Ford and Reagan in a very difficult challenge and combat, and when we see what happens with Nixon and some of the problems we have had in the last few years, I think it is very helpful to the process that the full course be run, that the candidates be tested in the long 18-hour day so that you at some point get a much better feel for what they will be as a President; and that is a very healthy process. When it you try to lock/up prematurely, I don't think that augers very well for the kind of administration that would be entailed by that kind of closing off of what is essentially a scrutiny, a crucible, a testing that allows the American people to get the best deal they can of the candidates presented to them. And that is why the course runs so long, and it is in July -- it is not in Pennsylvania two weeks ago, it is just unfolding; we are half-way down the road.

(ANNOUNCEMENTS)



MR. CLARK: Congressman Udall, you are an old friend of Hubert Humphrey. We haven't said much about him yet today. There is a strong feeling that if either of you succeed in stopping Jimmy Carter -- and I know you are sensitive about saying that is your primary aim in the campaign -- but Hubert Humphrey will be the ultimate beneficiary at the convention, that he will be the most likely nominee.

Are you two in effect stalking horses for Hubert Humphrey?

MR. UDALL: No, I don't look much like a horse, and I don't feel -- I have been asked this for two years, tomorrow, two years tomorrow, spent \$2.5 million, been in every state. I am not stalking for anybody.

Let me tell you what is going to happen. There is a move out there in the country. People are saying everywhere and I am saying it in Michigan, Slow down, just a minute. Do we really want to annoint Jimmy Carter?

Not that he is a bad person, not that he shouldn't be the nominee, but shouldn't we let this process run its course?

If he slows down and doesn't have a first ballot, and I think that is going to be clearly the case, we are going to have an open convention. Humphrey supporters will be out there in large numbers trying to revive his candidacy. I think he was hurt by the fact that he deliberately, and for a lot of good reasons decided not to get in these last primaries.

I think people are going to say, "Here's Mo Udall," if Carter falters; "Here's Mo Udall who has been in this campaign." I have delegates in 16 states, I have been at it for a long time. Isn't it better to give it to someone who has been out and been tested in the country, who has seen the country?

And I think Governor Brown and people who contested, although for a much shorter time and in fewer states than I have, will be looked up before; but Humphrey will be a factor. There is no question about it. He is widely beloved and respected, and there will be a lot of people who want to turn to him.

MR. CLARK: And, Governor Brown, Jimmy Carter said this week' campaigning against you in Maryland, the Democratic nomination is not going to go to anyone -- meaning you, presumably, who wins only two or three primaries.

GOVERNOR BROWN: Well, I am not in just one primary. I am in Maryland, and I will be in Oregon and Nevada, California; I am going to Rhode Island; I will be in New Jersey on Tuesday. I have been to Colorado. I am going around the country.

What I try to bring to this process -- and I come at a late hour because I felt that the candidates that had advanced so far had not yet caught the imagination of the American people -- and I as the chief executive of the largest state also bring the opportunity for a new generation of leadership.

I came of age in the '60s. I bring a perspective that I think is compatible with where this country has to go. People are looking for a change. They are looking for a sense of openness and out in California, trying to run the largest state, the largest institutions of government outside the federal government here in Washington, I have had some success. Eighty-five percent of the people in that state express approval of what is going on. I have kept taxes down, I have been tough on crime, but fair; I have opened the process, tried to protect the environment. And so I come into the process and I want people to make a judgment. I have started in Maryland. I am looking for support there, and if the proper response occurs, of course then I will go on from there into the states of the North and the South, all over this country.

My feeling is people are looking for something new. They are looking for something fresh -- and at least I am here. I make that offer to people.

MR. CLARK: On Hubert Humphrey, you say that at 38 you represent a new generation of politicians. Jimmy Carter says that Hubert Humphrey --

GOVERNOR BROWN: I said leadership, not politicians; but go ahead.

MR. CLARK: I accept the correction. Jimmy Carter says that at 64 Hubert Humphrey is too old to be President, and he said several times that he is unelectable. Do you

agree with that?

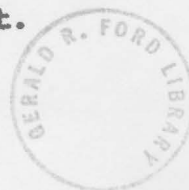
GOVERNOR BROWN: It is hard to say who is electable and who isn't.

MR. CLARK: Do you think he is too old?

GOVERNOR BROWN: I don't think chronology is really the question. It is attitude, it is value, the clarity of one's thinking. And each of us, I think, have certain pluses and certain minuses. And Mr. Humphrey has been at the battle a long, long time, and that carries with it certain attributes. It also carries certain minuses.

The same can be said for someone who comes late to the process. And I think the people have to decide what is it they want, and take a look at these candidates and make an informed choice. That is all we can offer.

MR. UDALL: Let me say a kind word for Hubert Humphrey. This is one of the most decent, compassionate, generous men who ever lived, and I hope I have half his energy when I am 64 and I am only 53. But I think I represent a bridge between that generation of leaders and the current generation, the new generation Jerry Brown talks about that is going to come on the scene shortly; and I think with my experience I can bridge this generation and lead America into this kind of change that I think we are going to have -- our economic system is in real trouble; we are running out of oil and gas. We have to bring honesty and integrity back to government.



And that has been my strong suit in the Congress, and I think, if you will forgive me, I represent what the country needs at the moment.

MR. FARMER: Do you think the country is not yet ready for Governor Brown?

MR. UDALL: Oh, I think the country is ready for Governor Brown, but I think I bring some extra things that maybe he doesn't at this point.

GOVERNOR BROWN: I think that what people have to weigh and to measure, some people have been in Washington a long time and working in the legislative branch. That gives a certain value in experience. Other people have had the experience of being a chief executive. I was governor of California. Before that I was secretary of state. I have had the experience of a very large and diverse community, from Berkeley to Orange County, old, young, blacks, whites, Mexican-Americans, rural, agriculture. California is very representative of this country, and I have done a job out there, I have worked hard, and I am trying to bring that same effort of fiscal frugality, holding the lid on government growth, keeping the taxes down and yet trying to promote social and economic justice. It is a simple idea, but it has begun to cut across the lines that have divided people left and right across the country, and I think that bringing together, that building on the pride and the essential social threat which holds this social fabric together, that is what

I am trying to do, and I think the divisions that have pulled us apart in the '60s and the early '70s, I would like to try to put it behind us, and one way to do that is to give the leadership to a new generation, unincumbered by the alliances, the perceptions, the baggage in the last ten years.

MR. UDALL: I want to have just 30 seconds on that.

This gets back to Jimmy Carter. We seem to drag him in here every minute or two.

I have been in Washington 15 years. This is our government. It is ours. It is all we have got. And this cheap talk that Carter gives you -- I am not pointing this at Governor Brown -- that somehow it is evil to be in Washington, well, that is where Kennedy and Johnson and Roosevelt and everybody provided leadership.

I voted in 15 years on aid to Turkey and the space program and agriculture and the complexities of the Post Office and God only knows what else. Everything. And when you talk about Hubert Humphrey and people who have been in Washington, you wouldn't put somebody in as quarterback in a football game in the Super Bowl who hadn't been there, hadn't been at the scene of action. And while I think there are great advantages to being governor of a major state, especially one as diverse as California, I think there are some advantages that ought to be weighed, too, about being here in Washington and knowing where the bodies are buried and seeing this jungle

in action and having some ideas what to do about it.

MR. FARMER: But isn't there some evidence, certainly by the primary results, that the country, for some reason, just doesn't want to hear from people like Congressmen for 15 years?

MR. UDALL: No, I think it is superficial. I think if we hadn't had eight or nine candidates and I had an opportunity to have Jimmy Carter one on one, I think I could have exploded this idea that Washington is bad, that you have to hate your own government, that somehow growing peanuts or being governor of a southern state better qualifies you for office than serving as a United States Senator or in the United States Congress in grappling with these national problems every day.

MR. FARMER: You will have Governor Carter one on one Tuesday. The polls say that you are way behind. I know you think that you are closing the gap. If you lose, Congressman, what happens to your campaign?

MR. UDALL: Well, you know, I have got more delegates than anybody except Jimmy Carter today. I have spent \$2.5 million. The process has 23 days to go. I am going to be in another six or eight primaries. I am going to be at that convention with the second biggest block of votes, because there is no way the latecomers can get as many as I have, put together. I am going to go all the way because I owe people something. It is one thing to drop out of the contest as some

did when you have four or five other progressive candidates left. It would be outrageous for me, having made these issues all over the country, when the others have dropped out for me to say, "Sorry, friends, your choice is between a conservative Reagan and a conservative Ford and a pretty conservative Jimmy Carter. We are not going to give you a progressive choice any more."

I am not going to do it. I am going to go all the way through the convention.

MR. CLARK: Congressman, you note that you will probably enter the convention with the second biggest block of votes. But unless you beat Jimmy Carter somewhere, isn't it most likely that the most you can hope for is to end up as a power of broker at a brokered convention?

MR. UDALL: No. As I said earlier, if Carter falters, I am the logical guy to turn to because I have been in all the states and I have been in this campaign. And we are going all the way in this thing.

I am going to get a bundle of delegates in Michigan. We may finish first. We may surprise people out there. He had me two to one in Wisconsin, he had me two to one in Connecticut. I closed the gap. We are closing it in Michigan. Michigan people don't like to be taken for granted. They are told their votes don't count anymore. And we are going to have some delegates out there; we are going to

close that gap.

GOVERNOR BROWN: I would like to say a few words. I have gotten into this campaign because I have the sense that the American people are looking for something that they haven't gotten yet. And out in California I try to be straight, I try to talk to people in language that makes sense to me. A problem in politics, today, is that political discourse has been so debased by rhetoric and cant, and over-promising and over-selling, that people have really begun to turn off and stop listening.

In California I don't think that is the case. And I see in Maryland, the potential to turn this campaign around. If the people of that state will give me the opportunity, I will go out to California, Nevada and Oregon, and I think I can win this race.

MR. CLARK: I am sorry to cut you off, but we are out of time. Thank you very much for being with us on ISSUES AND ANSWERS.

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